1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

by Chinese officials, or on journeys to congratulate Chinese officials on the major feast days of the year. The nobles as a group are also exempted from military service, although the chiefs of the militia of the commoners, according to tradition, were always chosen from among the nobles in former times. In later times both nobles and commoners have served as commanders and officers.[55]

It is said by the Monguors that in times past it was usually a noble who served as the chief of a village, but that because at present there are very few capable men among the nobles, these duties have devolved on commoners. Similarly, the nobles have lost the monopoly of serving as military officers.

AUTHORITY OF T'U-SSU OVER NOBLES

As might be expected the relations between a T'u-ssu and his nobles are of a special kind. It has already been described how, on occasions of special ceremony, a T'u-ssu may actually be expected to prostrate himself before nobles who are members of a generation senior to his own, while they do not have to prostrate themselves to him, but merely clasp their hands and bow their heads. Moreover, while the T'u-ssu takes precedence when he is presiding as chief of the clan at the veneration of the ancestors, at clan meetings, during the triennial visitation, or when nobles or commoners are brought before him in a lawsuit, yet on such occasions as non-official dinners and the marriages of nobles, the T'u-ssu always requests a noble of a generation senior to his own to preside.

Difficulties among the nobles most commonly originate either in quarrels over the division of a paternal inheritance or quarrels about the collection of taxes. In order to prevent litigation, the clan elders try to arbitrate such quarrels. Only if they are unsuccessful is a lawsuit brought before the T'u-ssu. If the parties do not agree to the T'u-ssu's verdict, they are free to appeal to a Chinese court. In a case known to me, the eleventh House of the clan of Li T'u-ssu had trouble with its villages over the collection of taxes. Unwilling to abide by the verdict of the T'u-ssu, the members of the House went to the Chinese court. They were severely rebuked, the Chinese judge angrily threatening to abolish the outmoded custom under which the members of a whole clan live at the expense of the commoners.

Nobles are never flogged or beaten for transgression of the law, because the lictors are commoners and it is not fitting that commoners should beat nobles.

When the T'u-ssu visits his nobles in the course of his triennial tour, they defray his expenses, including those of his retinue, just as do the commoners.

The old nomad custom was that when an individual

[55] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 233, notes that among the Mongols of the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries, with the decay of the feudal system, the duty of feudal service on the part of a noble to his lord had become more voluntary than obligatory.

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

621 without elders. The whole power of the clan was anciently embodied in the elders, who appointed and dismissed the chiefs. It is therefore no wonder that the elders in every village still play, most of the time, the most important part in local administration.

• 622 The chief of the village is usually selected from among the commoners, but may be a noble. He is always a villager, a man noted for his proficiency in administration and in good repute among the population for his uprightness and readiness to help members of the community. He is not always the richest man in the village, but is almost always chosen from among the most outstanding families in the village. He may even be a Chinese or a Tibetan enrolled in the clan. He is chosen by the elders on the tenth of the tenth moon. The T'u-ssu is then informed and must approve and send a written commission or appointment. Thus there is a compromise between choice by the village elders and appointment at the T'u-ssu's discretion.[3]

The tour of duty of the village chief is for one year, and he can be reappointed. He is the real executive authority of the village, responsible to the T'u-ssu for law and order and representing the village in its relations with the T'u-ssu.

701 The military officers are appointed by the T'u-ssu personally, for an indefinite tenure. In former times they were always nobles, but in the last half-century of the old Monguor society many were commoners; the office had become merely honorary, and some T'u-ssu sold it to the highest bidder. The military officers are in charge of the rolls of the village militia, who are subject to call in times of emergency. In addition a few men are on permanent service as soldiers. In case of war or bandit disorders the two officers take command, and call up all the males of the village.

[796] [431] 622 701 At New Year the village chief and the two military commanders offer the T'u-ssu the New Year greetings of the village and present him with tea, sugar, raisins, a couple of bottles of wine, and a piece of red silk eight feet in length, a ceremonial scarf and 35,000 pierced copper cash. The same three men

[3] It should be noted, however, that in Mongol society there are many examples of compromise between selection (or approval) from below and appointment (or approval) from above. The emphasis may vary either in times of the strongly centralized power of a Mongol emperor (as under Chingis and his immediate successors) or in periods of subordination of Mongol tribes to centralized empires in China (as under the Ming and Manchu dynasties). There are even traditions that the tribe (of commoners) has the right to repudiate the prince who represents the ruling noble clan; with the proviso, however, that the ruling clan may put forward another of its own members to replace the repudiated prince. It is hard to say definitely that the right of the ruling prince, chief, or T'u-ssu is the oldest right. As Father Schram points out, there are reasons for believing that the authority of a council of elders is even more ancient and fundamental. It may be suggested that in such societies as that of the Monguors the rights of the chief tend to prevail over those of the elders when there is a strong overlord paramount over both chief and elders.—O. L.

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represent the village in preparing and managing all celebrations held at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, such as the investiture, marriages, and funerals, the "opening of the seal," and the yearly diet or assembly. They also preside over the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu to his villages. Together with the elders they execute justice within the village, carry on the day-to-day administration, defend the rights of the villagers in their relations with the T'u-ssu, and of course oppose all enroachments on their own privileges.

The elders are appointed by the T'u-ssu himself, for an indefinite period of time. The T'u-ssu selects them from among the outstanding heads of families among nobles and commoners. Most of them are commoners; some are Chinese or Tibetans enrolled in the clan. In former times they were granted by the T'u-ssu a copper button to be worn on top of the hat. All matters concerning administration of the village, the apportioning of taxes, and difficulties among the villagers are discussed between the elders, the chief of the village and the two military commanders. Of them all, it is the elders who carry the most weight.

The elders can delegate some of their powers by appointing young commoners to assist the chief of the village, to organize meetings, to summon the villagers, on necessity, and to collect taxes.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES.

Meetings are the specific form of administration. The villagers are not administered by a small group of autocrats who hold themselves in aloof dignity. All topics of interest to the villagers are discussed in meetings attended by them. At these meetings everybody is allowed to express his views and to defend his rights. Very often the atmosphere of meetings is one of violent agitation and high excitement. It will be recalled that in the ancient form of pastoral nomad government under tribal elders, final decisions were made only after the heads of families had had their say at public meetings. The Monguors, in spite of the passage of many centuries, and after having adopted a sedentary farming economy, still conserve this tradition of their old administrative routine. The public meetings are part of the specific character of government in a Monguor village.

These meetings are not held in the central stronghold built by order of the Chinese, and very seldom in the courtyard of the temple of the village, but in the open air. Every village has its designated place of assembly. Some villagers hold their meetings on the large threshing floor of a particular hamlet of the village; others at a fixed spot in the main valley; others at the foot of a mountain, etc. This tradition of a customary place of assembly, as well as the form of administration, bespeaks the old nomadic customs of the Monguors.

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TOPICS OF THE MEETINGS

623 651 The most important and delicate topic of discussion at meetings is always the subject of taxes. These taxes are decreed by the T'u-ssu as a lump sum imposed on the entire village. The villagers have then to group themselves by wealth in five classes and to pay more or less taxes according to this classification. The classification of families is a very difficult and delicate problem. In the discussion everybody asserts that he is, and proves himself to be, the poorest man in the village, deserving to be put in the lowest classification. The tax imposed on the village is compared with the taxes on other villages, and the chief of the village is criticized for not having defended the interests of his village. These meetings also fix the date on which the taxes have to be ready either to be carried by the villagers in a group to the mansion of the T'u-ssu, or to be ready for the nobles who come to collect them. Illegal and oppressive exactions by the officials of the T'u-ssu and difficulties with the collecting nobles are discussed, and entrusted to the chief of the village for redress or for conciliation with the T'u-ssu.

623 312 Another important topic is the digging or repairing of irrigation canals. The number of digging days required from each family is adjusted to the amount of land each family cultivates. Quarrels are patched up with families accused of having kept the water from the canal turned into their fields for longer than the allotted time. The proper time is calculated by the time taken to burn a certain number of incense sticks for the irrigation of a determined acreage of fields.

623 651 794 At these meetings the contributions of every family are fixed for the expenses of keeping the village temple in repair and payments to the shamans who perform the two important rites of spring and of protection against storms and hail, and of thanksgiving for the harvest.[4] An apportionment is also made of the liability of members for all kinds of corvées, or obligatory services, religious as well as administrative. The groups of youngsters must be ready day and night to stay in and even sleep in the temple in order to avert the danger of hail and storms in summer. Duties must be assigned also for taking care of the sacred animal of the village, and for preparing the performance of all kinds of religious rites carried out on behalf of the village. Villagers must also be designated for all kinds of corvée service at the mansion of the T'u-ssu.

622 627 The officials must also be prepared to deal with all kinds of problems in the private lives of the villagers (except family vengeance feuds). If a villager has got himself into difficulties or is burdened with troubles not of his own making he goes to the chief of the village, presents to him a scarf of felicity and a bottle of wine, and invites him to iron out the problem. The chief

[4] The religious aspects of Monguor life will be discussed in a second volume, now being prepared for publication.

622 627 sends one of his assistants to invite the elders and summons the defendant. If the problem is important, the military commanders are also invited. Problems of this kind include delimitation of the boundaries of fields—a kind of arbitration case often made necessary by contracts drafted ambiguously by incapable men. Cases of dividing a paternal inheritance are often laborious and consume many days. The whole community is [681] interested in such cases. In personal quarrels, disputes, and fights the offending party may be flogged with up to one hundred stripes. If the complainant has been wounded, the defendant is condemned, in addition, to defray the expenses for the doctor and for medicine and to pay indemnity for a fixed number of days of recuperation.

685 Stealing seems to be an ineradicable evil among the Monguors, and stealing of animals is the worst of all. The Monguors still seem to have the old attitude toward thieving and the stealing of animals, although thieves are severely punished. Among the neighboring nomads, when a man is caught red-handed stealing animals, he is taken to a lonely spot, the tendons of his ankle joints are cut, and he is left, crippled, to die on the spot. The nomads show no pity for cattle thieves. The Monguors do not punish as cruelly and do not inflict capital punishment, but the thief has his hands bound behind his back and is then hung by the thumbs, until he loses consciousness. Water is then poured on his head. When he recovers consciousness, the same sport is repeated two or three times. He is then flogged with up to five hundred stripes, or even more. If a thief is caught the second time, he is sent to the T'u-ssu's prison, and when he emerges from jail, he is a wreck of his former self—provided he escapes at all, by bribing the guards.

People who steal sheaves from the field at harvest time are flogged with up to fifty or one hundred stripes and [865] are led through the village, the sheaves on their back, crying the whole way long that they are guilty. Boys accused by their parents of disobedience are flogged in the same way, after having been forced to apologize to their parents.

684 In cases of adultery the guilty pair, if caught *in flagrante delictu*, are flogged with up to one hundred stripes or more. The woman is beaten on her bare back with rawhide lash, the man on his bare buttocks and thighs. Apologies are made to the injured husband. A sheep or pig is brought to his home. Fire crackers are set off. The guilty pair ask a guarantor to speak for their proper conduct in the future. An official statement is written attesting the fact of adultery and the supplication for pardon. The two guilty persons place their right thumbs on an inked pad and then make an impression with the thumb on the statement. They are then led through the village, two drums beating before them, while they confess their guilt.

Once in a while a young woman runs away from her

[P. 78a]

2: Schram-2 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

/2 cont'd/

144
162 Chavannes, Turcs Occidentaux /Western Turks/). The Cha-t'ouo to whom Kao-chu-hui's relation refers here, were a tribe of the western Turcs first settled in early times to the east of Barkoul, and after A.D. 808 transferred to the northern borders of Kan-sou, for the sake of protecting them from inroads. /Cited in English, with one interpolation in French indicated by underline./

(620-905); the chronicles of Sining confirm this tradition. The last group came to live in the area either in the Yüan period (1280-1368) or the Ming (1368-1644).

101 These two groups speak the same language today, called
197 Monguor by them. The language is very archaic; it reflects the Mongolian of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Let us call to
[113] the attention of those who are interested in the question of the T'ou-jen language the study of Fathers Mostaert and De Smedt published in Anthropos, XXIV-XXV, "Le dialecte monguor, parlé par les Mongols du Kan-sou occidental /The Monguor Dialect, spoken by the Mongols of Western Kansu/." The grammar and the dictionary are in press.

The Cha-t'ouo of whom we speak are then Mongolized today. It should be pointed out that the notions of race and language are subject to caution.

622 The T'ou-jen, subject to China, have kept their autonomy
148 under chiefs of their race, recognized by China and called t'ou-se. The Chinese Republic, from its beginning, has shown itself hostile to this autonomous administration and has tried to treat the T'ou-jen as Chinese, subject to the jurisdiction of the mandarins of the place.

177 The ways and customs of the T'ou-jen, although influenced by the proximity of the Chinese and the Tibetans, have remained relatively pure. They reveal many a secret of their former social organization and of their nomadic life of yesteryear.

/120 cont'd/

361 place of origin. Now among the T'ou-jen of this area, a good many
831 have come to practice again the former custom of husband-sons-in-
law practiced by the Tibetans, their neighbors. As soon as they ar-
608 rive in the region they no longer give their daughters in marriage out-
184 side the house, but they seek a /121/ husband-son-in-law for them;
583 on the other hand, they send their sons to become husband-sons-in-
law in other families. Among many of these T'ou-jen, the sons no longer enjoy even the right of inheritance in their own family, where the daughters have become the sole heirs; in other families they continue to inherit beside their sisters. They are thus passing through a period of transition. One T'ou-jen family after the other adopts the customs of the Tibetans, at first some of the customs and only in part, and gradually they become Tibetanized. Besides, it is a fact that the Tibetan environment is not distasteful to them, and that T'ou-jen girls given in marriage to Tibetans quickly feel at home.

562 The T'ou-jen of the Sining region, speaking of their brothers
184 of Koei-tē, say, laughing, that among the latter the wife is owner
177 and mistress of the home, niu-jen tang ts'ai, that the men do not count there, that there are women there who themselves send away their husbands, that women are found there who have more than one husband, and that the old men there are to be pitied. Thus Tibetan
178 customs.

608 How must one explain the deformation of the practice of
[177] husband-sons-in-law among the T'ou-jen?

First, it is necessary to know that the Mohammedan revolutions decimated the T'ou-jen population in Kansu. Some T'ou-jen, in order to remake their groups and get rents for their lands, accepted in their clans numerous heterogeneous Chinese and Tibetan elements; other T'ou-jen headmen never succeeded in rebuilding the ruins. Add to that the use of opium which especially undermined the families of the headmen and put them in debt and impoverished them; it is
[622] thus not surprising that the power and also the influence of the t'ou-se were decidedly impaired. The prime blow of all was more and more frequent recourse to Chinese magistrates on the part of the T'ou-jen. In the old days, say the elders, the t'ou-se alone was

twist their rosaries on their wrists, even in the city, or 781
to turn a small prayer wheel all day. While no one 788
understands the meaning of the prayer formula, the
Monguor saying his Om Mani intends it as adoration
to Buddha.

Religion is a family as well as an individual matter. 794
The chief of the family is its religious head and its rep- 782
resentative. He worships "Heaven and all the spirits"
on the roof of the home or in its courtyard. It is his
duty to honor the protector-deity of the family. Each
family honors the image of its family protector-deity.
At the time of the division of a family inheritance, it is
the privilege and duty of the eldest son to continue wor-
shipping the old family deity honored by his ancestors.
The chief of the family is its representative at the per-
formance of public rites. Attended by his family, he
performs the rite of opening the fields in the spring to
start farming; he gives orders for the worship of the
various kind of spirits honored by the family—"the
spirit of the hearth," "the spirit of the stables," etc.—
and sets the example by praying the Om Mani and fin-
gering his prayer beads.

The compulsory social aspect of the religious life of 794
the Monguors is evidenced by the fact that the chief of 622
the village and its elders administer both the official and
religious life of the people in it. Even as they appor-
tion land taxes among the villagers, according to wealth [65]
and productivity, so do they assess families a fixed sum
for religious services. They impose corvées on the
villagers for municipal functions as well as for such
religious functions as protection against hailstorms or
the sacred animal of the village. In the same manner,
heads of families are summoned to participate in rites
at the temple or on the top of the sacred mountain.
The time of religious rites is fixed by the village chief.
He performs the community thanksgiving rite just as
the family chief does in his own circle.

The village chief is not the only organizer of religious [614]
life in the village. The chief of the clan is its promoter.
It is he who offers sacrifice at the clan's ancestor rite.
On his triennial visit, the clan chief brings the image
of the protector-deity of the clan, so that each village
may fulfill its duty of honoring it. He makes inquiry
about public worship in the village and the morality of
his subjects.

Religious activities are part of the family and social
life of the Monguor society. Their social organization
is woven into a religious environment. The chiefs of
families, villages, and clans are its promoters. All
clansmen are obliged to participate in the public rites.

The intensiveness of the religious life of the Mon- 771
guors is further demonstrated by the fact that they are 754
not only known as practicing Lamaists, but also as fer- 756
vent adherents of shamanism, and practicers of many
rites which do not seem to belong to either Lamaism
or shamanism, being performed by neither lamas nor

[P. 6(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

A second fact is encountered in a publication of Ma Fu-hsiang.[37] For many years he was the most prominent official of Hsining engaged with Tibetan and Mongol affairs. Later, he became governor of Suiyüan Province and a member of the Meng-Tsang Yüan in Nanking. The passage from the publication states:

> More than 100 *li* southeast of Hsining, on the territory of the 'Ten Tribes,' is the Ami chü-lu mountain upon which was built the monastery of Sha-ch'ung which had more than 1,000 lamas. It was there that Tsong khapa had his hair clipped [entered religion], and remained for more than 10 years, starting his studies and religious life, before he went to Tibet (p. 198).

In 1906 the Chinese started digging for gold in the sacred mountain. The lamas, opposed to the digging, fought and two men were killed. The governor of the province ordered punishment to be imposed upon the lamasery with ruthless severity. Ma Fu-hsiang, being acquainted with the Tibetans, sought to settle the question amicably and went to Sha-ch'ung. The rebelling lamas and 1,000 soldiers of the "Ten Tribes" were determined to fight the Chinese troops. During the long period of discussion, the head of the lamasery repeated over and over that the lamasery and the mountain were hallowed places, because it was there that the founder of the Yellow Church had clipped his hair and remained for more than ten years. He protested that by digging at these spots the "artery" of the Yellow Church would be damaged, and the ruin of its religion be made inevitable (p. 190). Finally, as always in the Orient, a way was found to settle the case, by promising that no more digging would be done on the Sacred Mountain; but on the territory of the "Ten Tribes" digging would be allowed (p. 193). This fact gives evidence of the deep-seated conviction among the Tibetans about the veracity of the tradition and infers the existence of the lamasery at the time of the Yüan period (1280–1367). More traditions exist about monasteries having been built during the Yüan period, as related by the lamas, but they are vague and no names or specific places are indicated nor do ruins exist. However, it is not impossible that the traditions point to the hermitages noted in the *Blue Annals*. The building of the big monastery of Ta fo-ssu by one of the important T'u-ssu clans reveals the fact that Lamaism was a living entity among the T'u-ssu and their Monguors. Is it not too far-fetched to suppose that among the T'u-ssu only the Li T'u-ssu were Lamaist, since it is well known that the Ch'i and Lu T'u-ssu in 1644 were proprietors of monasteries constructed by them, although we do not know when they were constructed.[38] Besides, the facts that the monastery of Goorongbzan existed near Sha-ch'ung, and that in the beginning of the Ming a board of lamas was established, suggest the assumption that in Huang-chung during the Yüan period there probably must

[37] Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng Tsang Chuang-k'uang*, Nanking, Chung-Hua yin-shu kung-ssu, 1931.

[38] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 34, p. 3a.

[p.115(B)]

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The author of the *Annals*, dealing with the diffusion of Lamaism in Huang-chung, seems to have neglected completely even the existence of Lamaism before the Ming (1368). He seems very articulate concerning the problem, claiming that its diffusion had really started during the first years of the Ming and that, in fact, by the foundation of monasteries, the granting of titles to lamas, the institution of Nang-suo, Karwa, and Ch'an-shih chia, the outlook of the entire country was changed and the possession and population of Huang-chung assured.

PECULIAR POLICY IN HUANG-CHUNG

Founding of the lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an

It is noted in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 15, pp. 13*a*, 13*b*) that

> At the beginning of the Ming dynasty San-la, a Tibetan lama of Hsining, wrote a letter to induce the tribes of Han-tung to submit,[40] and built a monastery south of Nien-pei and settled there. He went to court and brought a tribute of horses, and he begged for a rescript to administer the monastery and the tribes, and for the favor of an inscription for the monastery. The Emperor T'ai-tsu (1368–1399), granted his request and favored him with an inscription reading: "Ch'ü-t'an." The Emperor established a board of lamas in Hsining and named San-la the director of the board. From that time on his pupils emulated him in building monasteries; the Emperor bestowed glorious names upon them, and in addition gave rescripts for administering them. Consequently, land and power became monopolized by the barbarian lamas. During the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) there were bestowed, piecemeal, on the lamas, the titles of "Ch'an-shih" (Master in Dhyana), "Kuan-ting" (one whose head had been anointed), "Kuo-shih" (master of the empire); some were even given the title of "Ta-Kuo-shih" (great master or teacher of the empire), "Hsi T'ien Fo Tzu" (Buddha of the western Paradise; Amitabha). To all he gave seals and diplomas, and allowed [their dignities] to be transmitted, and they were ordered to bring, once every year, a tribute to the court.
>
> Because the lamas were held in high esteem among the barbarians, the government took advantage of them in order to keep the barbarians in submission. The people of the frontiers considered the dignity of the lamas as most glorious. For that reason, Tibetans and Monguors who had two sons, were certain to have one of them become a lama. Some even preferred not to have an heir, but ordered their sons to enter religious life. Tibetans and Monguors bequeathed their wealth to the monastery with a request for prayers, leaving their descendants destitute. Thus the barbarians became poorer and the monasteries richer. In each tribe there were people who submitted themselves to monasteries and became like a tribe, the subjects of the monastery [Shabinar].[41] The Chinese officials also entrusted the Tibetan monks with the duty of exchanging tea for horses.

[40] E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches* 2: 218. Han tung "was situated in the land, which in the days of the Han constituted all the district of Tun-Huang."

[41] Shabinar disciples. Shabinars are the supporters of the lamas, giving them material sustenance. At first some disciples performed this task. By extension, it came to mean lay adjuncts of the lamasery, and at present it means the subjects of the lamasery.

[p. 16(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

175 792 554 662

The texts are very informative concerning the reason why, and the circumstances in which, titles were granted to lamas, and how Lamaism was as a consequence diffused in the country of Hsining and gained its tremendous influence and power.

The Ming dynasty in 1368 faced a double problem.[43] On the one hand, it had to take possession of the country and to protect it against inroads from turbulent nomadic tribes. On the other hand, the country having been depopulated during the disorders at the end of the previous dynasty, it had to find permanent trustworthy settlers and to attach them to the soil. The first problem was solved by accepting the submission of the groups of Monguors, making their chiefs T'u-ssu, Chinese officials, and wardens of the region and the passes, which they had guarded during the Yüan dynasty, and by means of sending a Chinese army of colonists and released prisoners. The second problem was tackled by favoring lamas, by attracting groups of families subject to them or tribes belonging to them or willing to submit to the empire, and assigning to them vast territories. Lamas were appointed chiefs of the tribes, granted honorable titles and privileges which could be transmitted to their successors. They encouraged the building of monasteries. Mongol tribes from Ordos which invaded Kukunor, driving out or subduing the Tibetan tribes of that country, provided a favorable opportunity to use the influence of the lamas to accept and settle the fleeing Tibetan tribes without territory, who were marauding over the country.

[522]

The evidence for this policy is to be found in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 19, p. 3*b*): "The Tibetan Lung-pu tribe (2,000 families) devastated the country several times. The Chinese armies were unable to make them surrender. Finally the Chinese General Tung-lo invited So-nan-chien-tso, a lama of the monastery of Ta-ming, in order to exhort them to submit." He was successful in his attempt. The author naïvely notes that in the tribe there were "two masters of the empire."

Page 6*a*: "The Lung-pen tribe, administered by a lama, came to settle in the country [and to submit]. Its chief received the title of 'teacher of the empire' and the duty of *Chih-hui*."

Page 6*a*: "The Sina tribe [still governed by a Living Buddha] had a lama with the title of 'teacher of the empire' (because he submitted with his tribe)."

Page 6*a*: "The lama chief of the Ch'ia-erh-chih tribe

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other lamas; but to 18 lamas had been granted the titles of *Kuan-ting* or *Ta-kuo-shih*, or both. During the Ching-t'ai period (1450–1456) the titles were granted so profusely that we lose count." P. Pelliot, Les "kouo-cheu ou Maitres du Royaume" dans le Bouddhisme chinois *T'oung Pao* 12: 671, 1911. The title of "teacher of the empire" was used in China at the time of the northern Chi (550–557); the title is also encountered in north-west India in A.D. 500 and was already known in Central Asia in A.D. 382.

[43] Schram, *op. cit.*, 34.

[9, 11(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

SUBJECTS OF THE LAMASERIES

This matter fits into the frame of the material administration of the monasteries. One of the most important duties of the intendants is the administration of the subjects of the monastery, of the community of the lamas, or of the colleges. 792

After the revolt of 1723, when the lamas had compelled their subjects to rebel together with them, all their subjects were withdrawn from them and made subjects of the Chinese officials. The taxes, formerly imposed by the monasteries on their properties for their own benefit, were imposed by the Chinese administration for the benefit of the empire and collected by the Chinese officials, and, because all Chinese subjects were liable to corvées, the newly acquired subjects were made liable to corvées imposed by the Chinese officials. The subjects of the monasteries became, at the same time, liable to the Chinese courts of justice, and the old right of the monasteries to judge their subjects was abolished. All the ties which bound the subjects to the monasteries vanished and the possibility of a new revolt stirred up by the monasteries was eliminated. The extensive properties of the monasteries were not confiscated, however, so the people who tilled their fields were still obliged to pay rental in return for the use of the fields, in the same way that rents were paid to other proprietors. This was the status which was decreed after 1723 and which still prevailed in 1910–1920. 792 651

KINDS OF SUBJECTS

The monasteries in Huang-chung, before 1723, seem to have possessed two kinds of subjects: the tillers of their fields and some Tibetan tribes possessing their own territory, which for an unknown reason had become their tributaries. This latter category, according to the regulations of 1723, was entirely set free from all obligations toward the monasteries. 792

The origin of the status of the first category of subjects of the lamaseries, the tillers of the soil, is better known, because in the *Annals* of Hsining ch. 15, pp. 13*a* and 13*b*, the author complains that before 1723 a great many families of barbarians had gone over to the lamaseries, leaving their own chiefs in order to become their subjects, and that accordingly the influence and wealth of the lamaseries had greatly increased.

Today, among the subjects of the lamaseries, the Monguor families are the most numerous; then follow Tibetan and a few Chinese families. This fact seems to suggest that, of old, the Monguors constituted the bulk of the subjects of the lamaseries.

In Part I of this study (p. 60) it was explained that the subjects of the T'u-ssu could never abandon their clan chief, and that, because the T'u-ssu were the wardens of the marches and had soldiers, the Chinese officials had to prevent their subjects from abandoning them. Consequently a subject of a T'u-ssu, in order 622

[p.47(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

to become a subject of a lamasery, had to be relieved of military service, corvée, and allegiance to his clan chief. The loss of a subject for the clan chief meant loss of a soldier, a tiller of his soil, and a payer of land taxes—a considerable detriment to his power and his wealth. It is obvious that the loss of a couple of families did not matter too much, but the loss of numerous families would have disturbed the clan chiefs and made them try to prevent the illegal desertion of their subjects.

However, at that time Lamaism was at the height of its glory and power. Even the discontented Chinese officials had no way to oppose the omnipotent Living Buddhas pampered at the court in Peking, and could not lend a helping hand to the T'u-ssu, urging the return of their subjects and bringing suit over the encroachment on their rights. The T'u-ssu, willy-nilly, saw their subjects leave them in large numbers, lured by the more favorable conditions of living offered by the lamaseries.

In this way the lamaseries assembled the group of subjects referred to by the author of the *Annals*, who of their own free will became genuine monastery serfs ("Shabinar"), free of allegiance to their clan chiefs. In 1723, being the actual serfs of the lamaseries, they were compelled to fight at the side of the lamas, their chiefs, against the Chinese armies, according to the general conditions imposed on serfs and subjects.

PRESENT STATUS OF THE SUBJECTS IN RELATION TO THE LAMASERIES

Notwithstanding the drastic regulations decreed after 1723 in order to loose completely all the ties which bound the subjects to the lamaseries, and to avoid revolts in the future, the subjects still continue to recognize some obligations to the lamaseries.

Farmers Offering Oil and Pigs

From 1723 until 1910, the so-called subjects paid their rent in kind and carried it to the monastery; the farmers were organized in villages, and each village continued to offer as before, in the autumn of each year, a certain number of pounds of vegetable oil to the intendancy whose fields they tilled; it was considered as an offering for the lamps in the temples of the intendency. In addition, every year in the New Year season they continued to bring to the same intendancy a pig weighing 120 pounds. If the scale did not tip 120 pounds, the weight lacking was made up in pork. In former times when subjects married, it was customary for the family of the bride to demand from the family of the bridegroom a portion for the lamas. This consisted of 30 pounds of pork, and was offered to the intendancy on which the family of the bride depended. At present the 30 pounds of pork are still asked for and presented to the family of the bride, but the meat no longer reaches the intendancy.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

sisted of lamas and the subjects of the monastery. However, during the revolt of 1723, the lamaseries were in full bloom, and must have had soldiers, because the Chinese General, Nien Keng-yao, blamed the lamas for fighting furiously, and the monasteries for being the depots of weapons. It may be assumed that after the revolt of 1723 the lamaseries were not allowed to have armies. However, during the revolt of the Moslems in 1895, the lamas of Kumbum attacked the stronghold of the rebels in To-pa as auxiliaries of the Chinese regular armies.[10] Nearly all the monasteries at that time except Kumbum were destroyed and burned.

INTERFERENCE OF THE EMPEROR AND T'U-SSU WITH THE LAMASERIES

In Europe during the Middle Ages, many monasteries and abbeys had a bad time. The princes and kings granted vast domains to religious orders to encourage them to branch out into their territories. The grants were gratefully accepted and abbeys built, but some among the gracious donors, in a surge of religiosity, went so far as to appoint an official for the collection of land taxes and the administration of the domains, whose duty it was to furnish the revenue to the abbots in order to free the monks of material troubles. Often these officials were relatives of the donors, and collected most of the taxes for themselves, and the monasteries, unable to make ends meet and to uphold and develop their institutions, had no means of protesting against the relative of the prince. Very often princes started interfering in the administration of the monasteries and claimed the right to appoint an abbot of their own, often a relative. After unworthy abbots were appointed the monasteries relaxed, with the consequences that might be expected.

I know of only two similar cases of interference in Huang-chung. The Lu T'u-ssu of Lien ch'eng had established three important lamaseries and granted vast domains to them. In 1727 the census records for the monastery of Ku-ch'eng show 140 lamas, for Lien-hua 100, and for Pao-nen-ssu 191, a total of 431 lamas. Next to them the T'u-ssu had founded two smaller monasteries, Hsi ssu and Kan-ch'an ssu, which received smaller domains from him. Two among these five monasteries had no Living Buddhas, so that the T'u-ssu appointed himself the intendant; and every three years, at appointment time, troubles arose.

The case of Ch'ü-t'an has been recorded. According to the legend the monk, Emperor Hui-ti, had appointed his relative hereditary administrator of the domains, and a tablet had been erected testifying to the appointment. The fact is, that the real emperor of the

[10] Susie Carson Rynhart, M.D., *With the Tibetans in tent and temple*, 92, London, Fleming Revell, 1902; see also M. S. Wellby, *Through unknown Tibet*, 281, Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1898.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Yung-cheng period, not the monk Emperor Hui-ti, had appointed the administrator, who was killed.

Possibly the precarious position of the Li and Ch'i T'u-ssu, their financial troubles, which compelled them to mortgage parts of their domains to Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, enfeebled their influence and power, and prevented them from interfering with the administration of the monasteries which had received domains from them in former times. On the other hand, Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, before 1723, had prominent Hutukhtus whose influence superseded that of the T'u-ssu. Only these two cases are known to me.

IV. ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAMA-SERIES: EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS

It seems necessary in dealing with the educational and religious aspects of a monastery, its rules, discipline, and colleges, to know beforehand to what kind of subjects the initiation into the monastic life and religious training is given. The subjects of the monastery are its main source of lamas.

LAMAS

LACK OF CANDIDATES

The superiors of all the monasteries complained bitterly about the want of religious candidates. In fact they declared that at this time (1911–1920) there existed in Huang-chung only two monasteries still having the four colleges (Kumbum and Sha-ch'ung), and the fact that so many monasteries were shadows of their former selves was the consequence of the lack of religious candidates.

CAUSES CONTRIBUTING TO LACK OF CANDIDATES

The situation in Huang-chung in 1910 was no longer the same as that before 1723. After the crushing of the revolt, the country had enjoyed peace, and developed and prospered tremendously. Chinese settled in great numbers in the thinly populated country, filled with hopes for a comfortable living. Chinese officials became more and more numerous. Chinese *literati* came to take the helm and to enforce on the uncivilized Monguors, Tibetans, and lamas admiration for the superior Chinese civilization.

First of all, the Monguors, not insulated against the impact of Chinese culture because a large number of Chinese had already been enrolled in their clans, and because their T'u-ssu were already far along in the process of Sinicization, underwent the process in differing degrees. In Huang-chung, even as in the northwest border countries of China, the first consequences of the process of Sinicization are a pride in being considered Chinese, and a scorn for lamas, whom they be-

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Huang-chung, and the mother lamaseries became firmly established. 792 775

PROCEDURE OF BECOMING A LIVING BUDDHA IN HUANG-CHUNG

The first incarnations of the five great Hutukhtus started as minor Living Buddhas, in the same way as the innumerable minor Living Buddhas who still spring up every day. A lama who is celebrated for his saintliness and wisdom, for his zeal in the diffusion of the religion, and for his blameless life, and is considered by his friends to have displayed the signs of approaching the final illumination, may be acknowledged by them after his death to be a Bodhisattva, to have renounced the blessedness of Nirvana, and to have made the vow to remain in this world for the salvation of all creatures. However, in Huang-chung the acknowledgment of lamas has to be sanctioned by a Living Buddha, whether a minor or a great one. The Panchen Lama confirmed that Chang-chia was the incarnation of a Dharmasvanin Graspa-odzer [21]; K'ri-c'en Blogros rgyamts'o confirmed the Bodhisattvaship of T'u-kuan.[22] It has already been noted that Chang-chia declared, on a morning in 1913, that the Wang Fa-t'ai of Ch'ie-bzan was a Living Buddha, and the Living Buddha of Ch'ü-t'an declared that the nephew of the Lu T'u-ssu, a Lama of Ta-ssu, was a Living Buddha.

It is a known fact that much private influence is brought to bear in the selection of Living Buddhas, in order to secure the appointment of scions of noble, wealthy, and influential families, or to provide some other benefit. It has already been recorded how the lamas endeavored to obtain the protection of the most powerful T'u-ssu. Therefore, the first incarnation of the series of T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was caused to appear in the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, and two more Living Buddhas were incarnated in this clan, the old and young Li Living Buddhas. At the beginning of the Ming, a lama of the Li clan had already become a Karwa lama; the Karwa still exists and is administered by a lama of the Li clan. The nephew of the powerful Lu T'u-ssu recently became a Living Buddha, as has been noted and at the same time the branch lamasery of Ta-ssu became independent. One of the incarnations of T'u-kuan was a lama of the lamasery of Ku-ch'eng belonging to the Lu T'u-ssu; one of the incarnations of Chang-chia was born in Too-long, which belongs to the Lu clan. Seerkok, as already noted, arranged to have two of its minor Living Buddhas reincarnated, one in Mongolia and one in Tibet, in order to attract lamas from these countries to fill up its depleted roster, but without avail.

792 662 775 [622]

One of the incarnations of T'u-kuan appeared in Siamar, in the Tibetan family of Ts'e-bdurk, the richest and most influential in the region. The parents, with their daughter, went to Lhasa on a pilgrimage of

[21] Huth, *op. cit.*, 273.
[22] *Ibid.*, 281.

[p. 66 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

no longer have the stuff of shamans, and the belief of the young folk in the gods is waning and fading away. 789 756

OFFER OF BONES TO THE SPIRITS OF HAIL

On the last night of the year, a group of youngsters is called by the chief of the village and ordered to gather sackfuls of bones and to carry them to the mountain top, from where devasting hailstorms usually come destroying the crops in summer. They are ordered to burn the bones to the "spirits of the hail" in order to thank them for their protection during the year and to beg them to extend their protection for the next year. Around New Year's, every family kills sheep or pigs, and bones are available everywhere. All kinds of bones are satisfactory, provided a full sack is secured. It is known that in the arctic culture the peculiar offer to heaven consisted of the offer of the skull and the long bones of animals (for bones contain marrow). It was the offer to the dispenser of life.[12] 782 789 796

Many times I asked for explanations about this rite, but nobody could give any. The answer always was the same: we are accustomed to do so in order that the crops may be protected against hail, and the hail spirits be propitious next year.

LAST REGULATIONS OF THE CHIEF OF THE VILLAGES

In the evening the shamans and the villagers return after having strengthened all the old mounds. The chief of the village makes a stereotyped speech: "In former times, the great emperor of all the Mongols divided his subjects into groups, attached to the service of the spirits of the temple. In keeping with that tradition of our ancestors we designate today groups of two men each who, day and night, will relieve one another and will stay at the temple in order to give warning of impending hailstorms. The two men who will be on duty during the next day, will sleep the night before in the temple, for continence is required of the watchers. When a storm appears in the northwest, they will beat the drums and cymbals, blow the horn, and ring the bell. Another group which we designate today will, when the bell rings, instantly leave their homes and run hurriedly to the principal ritual mound carrying with them the god of the temple in the sedan chair and all the other gods, the drums, cymbals and horn, and banners. They will take with them some black bowls, which will be placed upside down on the center of the mound. In the temple incense and cypress boughs will be offered, the throne (stake) of the god, erected in front of the temple gate, will be thrust deeper in the ground, and the bowls on top of the roof of the entrance will be turned upside down." The speech is finished. The other gods mentioned in the speech are stakes, octagonal in shape, the upper part of which represents a human head. (Taoists use octagonal stakes when they perform the rites against [622]

[12] Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 3: 542. [p. 103(B)]

A large part of the hog is instantly prepared for a collective dinner, the remainder being divided in as many parts as there are families in the village. Each family has to partake of the sacrifice and receive a piece of meat and one roll. The manager of the ceremony presides at the division, while shamans and apprentices each receive thirteen rolls and a piece of meat.

Planks are placed in rows in the temple yard and straw is spread on both sides of them. The audience sits down on the straw and starts dining and drinking. When the sun is about set and the dinner finished, the shamans beat the drums, the audience kneels, the chief of the village pours a last libation on the ground, throws some cypress leaves into the fire and sprinkles water. The pole is taken down while the audience prostrates three times. Paper banners and streamers and inscriptions, are burned in the fire. For that reason some Monguors call the rite "paper burning rite." The villagers go home and the next morning the shamans leave.

MEANING OF THE RITE

The rite is a genuine one of thanksgiving for the harvest reaped, striking in its simplicity. Thanks are given in the temple yard of the god who is the protector of the village—not to that god, but to "Old Father Heaven" only, as is said distinctly by the chief of the village. It has been noted before that "Heaven and all the spirits" are never honored inside temples or inside rooms, but always in the open air, in courtyards, on top of the roofs, on high mountains. Here is a case where, during the whole rite, the protector god of the village is not even mentioned, although the rite is performed in its own temple yard. The performance of the rite is perfectly in line with the general worshipping of "Heaven and all the spirits" as practiced by the Monguors.

An amazing fact is that shamans are invited to the ceremony, but at the very moment of the performance of the rite the chief of the village himself acts as sacrificer, as the representative and chief of the community, in the same way as we already noted that the chief of the family gives thanks on the roof of his house to "Heaven and all the spirits," offering the reeking rolls, steamed with the flour of the very first reaped wheat. The role played by the shamans is, in fact, secondary, and seems to have no immediate connection with the rite, but rather with the rites of preventing hailstorms, which had been successful. The invitation to the shamans to participate at the rite appears, except for the fact of the planting and removal of the pole, to be an act of kindness and courtesy of the villagers toward the shamans for their happy achievement. The people give thanks themselves for the harvest reaped to "Old Father Heaven" alone, the "Old Father Heaven" who provided their subsistence.

But is this formula not borrowed from the Chinese, who use it under the same circumstances in all their

of the fifth month and lasts for 108 days. During the whole period, two lamas at a time are always fasting (taking one meal a day), while the others are free to indulge in food, but during the 108 days the use of meat, garlic, leeks, and radishes is prohibited for all the lamas. Lamas of the Red Sect north of the Hsining River do not perform fasting in a group of their own sect, but always some among them attend the fasting rites practiced by laymen.

The fast of laymen is an interesting custom, the consequences of which have an important bearing on the formation of the Buddhist frame of mind of the people. The aim of the rite is the purification of sins and happy rebirth in the paradise of one of the Buddhas.

ORGANIZATION AND RULES

The rite is enacted in a group, in a few temples spread over the country, under the direction of a lama of the Yellow Sect, usually a Living Buddha or an old lama celebrated for his proficiency in oratory. At present the fasting exercises are only practiced in six localities, among which four are old Karwas (dating from the Ming period): Tsan-tsa, Pe-cha-erh-te, Marhtsang and Swor. The two others are Sumdo and T'u-kuan. The fasting exercises are never performed for laymen in monasteries. Each of the six groups has its committee which, long before the fixed time, tries to enroll fasters: Monguors, Tibetans, even Chinese, lamas of the Red Sect, men and women. In Sumdo the fasters usually number from twenty to eighty; in Pe-cha-erh-te from ten to thirty; in Marhtsang from ten to thirty; in Swor from twenty to seventy. In 1916 in Pe-cha-erh-te, I met seventeen fasters; in Marhtsang twenty-one. The Monguors of Wei-yüan-p'u and of the northern part of the Hung nai Valley are said to be the most fervent fasters. Always, a large number of men, even chiefs and elders of villages, attend the rite.

During the whole exercise, the fasters do not spend any money. The fast expenses are defrayed by the villagers of the locality where the exercises are held, and by the committee which has a small fund and collects some alms. To contribute to this rite is considered to be a very meritorious act. The day before the beginning of the fast, the chief of the village imposes corvées on some of the youngsters for the carrying of water, chopping of fuel, preparing cypress boughs, grinding flour, cooking, baking rolls and steaming bread, buying butter, tea, sugar, sweeping the floor. At Tsan tsa the fast starts on the fifteenth of the sixth month; at other places usually around the twenty-ninth of the third moon, and lasts for sixteen days. During the three days preceding the fast, the fasters are not allowed to eat garlic, leeks, radishes or meat, or to drink wine, or smoke tobacco, and continence is required.

The fasters arrive at night, drink tea, eat rolls baked in vegetable oil and go to rest. Men and women have separate rooms; they sleep on straw and cover them-

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

wear the mourning dress for members of a lower gen- 765
eration, nor the husband for his wife, and *vice versa*.

The great mourning begins at the moment of death and ends after the burying of the small coffin. During these days, it is not permitted to wash face and hands, comb the hair, shave, or leave the courtyard.

It is noteworthy that the Koryaks in Siberia put the clothes on the deceased inside out,[44] and so do the Tibetans.[45] The T'u-yü-hun had a funeral procession when burying the dead, but mourning clothes were removed when the ceremony was over.[46]

After the great mourning, the small mourning starts. Men remove the red fringes from the ceremonial hat. They change the more elaborate girdle for a simple black one, and the embroidered tobacco pouch for an unadorned black one. Women do not wear new clothes; they put aside red and green vestments, using black or dark blue garments instead. However, the piece of blue cloth which covers their headdress is changed to a white one; the red fringes on the headdress are removed and strips of black cloth take their place. Ear and finger rings and all jewelry are prohibited. They are forbidden to attend any festivities, to enter temples or monasteries.

Monguors, mourning their grandparents, wear the mourning dress for a year—in some places, however, only for one-hundred days. Brothers mourn their elder brother only forty-nine days. At that time a lama is invited to say some prayers for one or three days. The entire family goes to the tumulus to burn paper and incense sticks, to offer rolls and a leg of mutton, and to make libations, and prostrate themselves. The women lament, and the small mourning period is over.[47]

It is said that in former times all the Monguors had to follow the mourning rite for one-hundred days upon the death of their T'u-ssu or his lady. At present only [622]
the officials of the T'u-ssu observe this rite.[48]

OMINOUS DEATHS AND THE ABODES OF EVIL SPIRITS

WOMEN WHO DIE IN CHILDBIRTH

A woman who dies in childbirth is said to be 766
drowned in a lake of blood. It is a very bad omen for the family. Even a person dying in the courtyard during childbirth is seriously feared after death, and the souls have to be driven away more elaborately. A lama of the Red Sect is invited, and quite often a shaman, because they are more proficient in magic. The

[44] Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee*, *op. cit.*, 3: 421.

[45] David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens au Tibet*, *op. cit.*, 130.

[46] Parker, *op. cit.*, 109.

[47] Serruys, Pei-lou-fong-sou, *Monumenta Serica*, 10: 295, 1945. Among the Mongols of Inner Mongolia around 1600, the mourning period lasted only for seven days. It consisted for the women in not wearing the headdress called Ku-Ku; for the men in removing the button from the hat.

[48] Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 130–131, notes the elaborate mourning rites and prescriptions at present still used by the Mongols of the Ordos.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

honored in the open air temples being built only for souls of the deceased.[7] Among the Monguors, temples are built for all kinds of spirits. Heaven, however, has no temples.

The Monguors have no special offering for "Heaven." In former times, according to their traditions, horses were offered to "Heaven and all the spirits." At present the sheep is the usual offering. It is offered to all kinds of spirits and on all occasions. Rich people, or large villages, often offer a pig.

The most important event in a Monguor community is the rite performed in spring, in order to obtain blessings upon the community and the crops during the year. All possible spirits are invited into the temple along the rope, except the lama deities. The feast starts at night, with offerings, dances, and drum beating by the shamans for "Heaven and all the spirits"—but nobody attends this night rite, not even the chief or elders of the village! And during the two days that the rite lasts, not a single mention is made of "Heaven"!

The appointment of the new Tu-ssu is announced, not to "Heaven and all the spirits," but to the ancestors and to the protector deity of the clan, with an elaborate ceremonial, and their blessings are implored upon the T'u-ssu and the clan. (See Part I: 46.)

At the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu to his villages, the image of the guardian deity of the clan is reverently carried to the villages and honored for three days. However, not a single rite is performed for Heaven by the chief of the clan, not even at the yearly cult of the ancestor of the clan, when the entire clan is assembled. (Part I: 37, 64.)

No Monguor hopes his soul will ascend to Heaven and enjoy happiness together with the great "spirit of Heaven," in a place of joy and felicity. The Mongols have no notion of such a place belonging to the "great Heaven"; they only know the luxurious paradise of Buddha, where they are told they will enjoy happiness with Buddha during the period of time preceding a new rebirth, about which they seem to have very little interest.

All these facts seem to prove that at present the Monguors are very remiss in the cult of their undefined and vague "spirit of Heaven," who is without departments of activities, having no power over good and evil spirits, and no omnipotence. The "great Heaven" is not the so-called "Hochgott," but a spirit enjoying an honorary prominence.

In connection with this problem, it should be kept in mind that the habit of ascribing prominence to one among the spirits seems to be very old in Asia: "In Babylon and Assyria [3,000 years ago] the principal god of the city which happened to dominate the entire nation, became the supreme god of the realm."[8] "Al-

[7] Henri Maspero, *op. cit.*, 202.

[8] Albert Condamin, S.J., *La religion des Babyloniens et des Assyriens*, 692, Jos. Huby, Christus Beauchesne, Paris, 1923.

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[For additional information on t'u-ssu, see category 116, pp. 72-114.]

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PREFACE

121 This third and last part of the study about the Monguors primarily intends to present the history of the Monguor clans in Huangchung during the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, based on the *Annals* of Hsining and the *Annals* of Kansu.

In order to make the history understandable, it has had to be put in the historical framework of the Huangchung country in which it evolved during five centuries.

In Ming times it is mostly the history of inroads into the country by Tibetans and Mongols; during Ch'ing times it is the history of the revolts of Mongols, Tibetans and Mohammedans, which several times ruined the country. Revolts and invasions were fought by Chinese troops unequal to coping with the situation, aided by the Monguor troops.

Part III is the history of the Monguor t'u-ssu clans,[1] called not only to defend their own country in combination with the Chinese army, but also to participate with the Chinese armies in wars in the provinces of Liaotung, Shensi, Shansi, Szechwan, and Yunnan, in Mongolia proper, and in the Tunhuang regions in Turkistan.

The hardships the Monguors endured during these five centuries were terrific, but their faithfulness toward the empire stood as strong as a rock, and is nowhere equally encountered among tribes which had submitted and pledged allegiance to the empire. However, this is overlooked in the official history. The number of Monguor soldiers who died in the wars is not known, but it is known that in each of the Monguor clans one or more of the chiefs died on one or another field of battle. The glorious military achievements of the Monguors are many.

The history of these five centuries is also the history of the development of the country and its thorough Sinisization. The Monguors who had once controlled much of this country saw Chinese officials gradually take into their hands its civil and military administration, trying to relegate them to their own poor country. The Monguors felt that they were barbarians, but they admired the Chinese civilization and aspired to share its benefits. These five centuries are the time of the Sinisization of the Monguors, which started with their chiefs, as among all the nomads. The boys of the

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[1] A *t'u-ssu* was the "local chief" of a clan who had been appointed to his office by the sovereign state of which the Monguor clans were quasi-feudal frontier dependants. When the Ming dynasty invested a Monguor clan chief with the title of T'u-ssu he became a Chinese official while continuing to be also the chief of his clan. The institution of t'u-ssu was one that had been developed for the special purpose of administering non-Chinese tribal groups on the frontier of the Empire. See Louis M. J. Schram, The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Frontier. I. Their origin, history, and social organization, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 44 (1): 45–52, 1954 (hereafter referred to as Monguors I).

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5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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south of Nienpei, Kuo Chou and Mi Chou, had been disestablished (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 12, and 7: 14).

During the Yuan dynasty a military organization had been elaborated in Huangchung providing for the defense of the strategic and vulnerable points of the country. Only two Mongol officers had been sent with their troops to occupy the country: the myriarch Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-chi, who controlled 10,000 soldiers with their families, and Ch'i-T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, a Mongol officer, who commanded twenty tribes of Chi-pen Mongols. Surrendered tribal local chieftains were enlisted in the cadre of the regular army; they received a title, and were assigned other tribes as subjects, in order to strengthen their military power. Each of them had to defend a definite area and was responsible for the peace of the area. To be sure a high officer controlled this military organization, but only the name of Chang Chi is known, Governor of Huangchung. At the time of the collapse of the Yuan dynasty, this group of officers submitted to the Ming and all of them became t'u-ssu and the founders of the Monguor clans of Huangchung.

It is easy to understand that the troops of Huangchung submitted to the Ming dynasty, in view of the dissensions existing among the Mongol princes at that time, the pitiable flight of the emperor from his capital, the defeat of the Mongol forces and the disintegration of the Mongol nation—all things which were known in the minutest detail by the officials in Huangchung. All the more, what were the conditions in the homelands of the soldiers of Hsining, who long since had been enlisted in the Mongol armies and who had their families following them in Huangchung? They had no way to move. Guarding the country of Huangchung, they had practiced agriculture, and knew they could make a living remaining in the country. There seems to have been no alternative for them, except to wait for the arrival of the new lords of the empire, and then to make the best of a bad situation, offering to remain guardians of the country in behalf of the new masters, as defeated troops in the Orient often used to do for centuries. That the officers, originating from Huangchung, agreed with the decision is not difficult to understand.

CONQUEST OF HUANGCHUNG BY THE MING

CONQUEST OF KANSU

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After the death of Emperor Ch'eng Tsung, grandson of Kubilai (1295–1307), no capable emperors succeeded to the throne of the Yuan. During the reign of Emperor Huei Tsung (1333–1368) the provinces situated south of the Yangtse River were lost in 1360 and occupied by several groups of rebels who looted the country of its wealth. Chou Yuan-chang, chief of a group of rebels, succeeded in establishing a provisional government. He defeated or received the alle-

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

wan (the bent of the Mongols), and who was assistant official of the administrative body of the province of Kansu, representing all the officials of Huangchung, went to court to surrender (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 9*b*). Together with him, Li Nan-ko, of Shat'o origin, vice-chairman of the administrative body of Hsining, surrendered with the officials of the entire district (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 9; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*), and all the officials received appointments.[61] T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, Li Nan-ko, and all the officials who had surrendered, became the founding ancestors of the t'u-ssu clans[62] in Huangchung (Monguors I: 31). To them is to be added Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i, member of the imperial family who had surrendered in 1369. In that way all the officials of the region of Hsining and Nienpei had surrendered and in the next year, 1372, Hsining was created a commandery (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*). In the first moon of 1373 the emperor sent the edict to T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh:

> I govern the empire; with prominent people of all the world who love justice, I deal with courtesy, granting them offices, in order that they might have the opportunity to manifest their qualities. You, T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, who have lived long in the western country, have heard about our highly developed culture and have come to my court. I appreciate your intention. Now at the beginning of the establishment of the commandery of Hsining, I especially request your help. I hope you will devote yourself wholeheartedly to the submission of the tribes and the strict observance of the law, in order that the country may enjoy peace. I hope you will respond to my desire to give you this appointment. Have the title of Hsuan-wei chiang-chun (general who manifests his military qualities) and be commander of the commandery of Hsining. Edict, First moon, Sixth year, Hung Wu period. (*Annals* of Hsining 32: 16*a*.)

The *Annals* note that he had received at the time of his surrender in 1371 the hereditary function of secretary commandant. The imperial edict of the first moon of 1373 granted him the function of commander of the commandery. The clan of T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was rewarded in 1401 by the emperor with the name Ch'i, when his son Chuan Chou had died on the field of battle.

WHO WERE THE OFFICIALS WHO SURRENDERED IN A GROUP IN 1371?

The Mongol T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh and his 700 families, the Shat'o Li Nan-ko with his 4,000 families, the Shat'o Li Wen nephew of Li Nan-ko, controlling 963 families, and the Shat'o chiefs Na-sha-mi and Chi

[61] *Ming Shih* 330: 2*a*.

[62] I use the term "clan" to refer to a group sharing a common territory, a common surname, and a common chief. Monguor clans consist both of persons who recognize real or traditional kinship ties with the chief, and persons who do not recognize such ties but who have, nevertheless, adopted the surname of the chief and his kinsmen at the time they were integrated in the group.

Pao with their 150 and 90 families, respectively, all surrendered. At the same time five clans surrendered who were recorded in the *Annals* as Monguors: the clans Wang, Kan, Chou, Hsin, and La, with 150, 300, 62, and 100 families, respectively. The Mongol clan Ah with its 150 families surrendered, whose chief discharged during the Yuan the office of secretary of the province of Kansu, and also the Yeh clan with 70 families, Mohammedans of Turkistan, recorded as being of Ch'an-t'ou origin (turbaned heads). The chief of the Yeh clan was secretary of the administrative organ of Kansu during the Yuan. These are the twelve clans which surrendered in a group in 1371.

The date at which the Ch'eng clan, with 150 families, settled in Hsining during the Ming is not recorded. Its clan chief is of Chinese extraction and originated from Shan Yang in Chiang Nan (Chiang Nan became later the Nan Huei and Kiangsu provinces), and its subjects are called "natives."[63] The date at which the Chao clan, 120 families, settled in Huangchung during the Ming also is not recorded. Its chief during the Yuan discharged the duty of myriarch of Chao Tsang, and is noted as being from Min Chou and of Mongol origin. Li Hua-no, an offshoot of the Li Nan-ko branch, and so normally a Shat'o, received from the clan 100 families and became t'u-ssu only in 1645. To this list of 15 t'u-ssu clans is still to be added the clan of the Mongol Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-chi with his 800 families, who had been the first among the Huangchung t'u-ssu to surrender in 1369. Among them 13 clans were settled in Huangchung in the beginning of the Yuan period in definite territories, and the mountain passes to be guarded by each of them had been indicated. This seems to suggest that all of them were large or minor groups of soldiers, with their chiefs, wardens of the country in behalf of the Yuan. They continued during the Ming, and later during the Ch'ing, to occupy the territories they had occupied during the Yuan, except the two cities of Hsining and Nienpei, and to be charged with the same duties, because the

[63] In Huangchung the subjects of the sixteen t'u-ssu clans living in the country are commonly called Monguors, by the Monguors themselves, whether they are of Mongol, Shat'o, Uighur, Tibetan, or Chinese extraction. The Chinese call them *t'u-jen*, i.e. "natives." Among these natives are people of Mongol, Shat'o, Uighur, and Tibetan stock and even some Chinese who entered the t'u-ssu clans. Tibetans settled in Huangchung, with their own tribal chiefs, are called Hsi-fan, and Mongols living outside Huangchung are called Ta-tse, Ta-ta, T'u-ta, Meng-ku, but never Monguors. The present study deals with the Monguors of Huangchung who speak a peculiar Mongol dialect, not understood by the other Mongols. In Ho Chou region lives a group of Mohammedan Mongols, whose language is very similar to that of the Monguors. However, the group is not called Monguor but Sant'a. The group of Mongols of the Lu t'u-ssu clan of Lien Ch'eng are genuine Monguors and recognized as such by the Monguors of Huangchung. In Chinese studies dealing with the natives of Huangchung, they are all indiscriminately called Meng-ku, Ta-tse, T'u-ta, Ta-ta, Hsi-fan, T'u-jen, and T'u-ming (Monguors I: 31, 32).

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and posthumously were bestowed (upon Li Nan-ko) the titles of his son: Yung-lu ta-fu, Yu-chun tu-tu-fu, Tso-chun tu-tu-fu. On the second spirit way stele erected on the third moon of 1475 is chiseled: (this is) the spirit way stele of Sir Li (Li Yin) to whom was granted the title "official who sincerely manifested military achievements" to whom were bestowed, in a special way, the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Chou-kuo Huei Ning-pei (Earl of Huei Ning, pillar of the empire).

The second document is encountered in Shuo-wen-yueh-k'an 3, 10, 1942 (Ch'ung-ch'ing Shuo-wen Yueh-k'an shih). There we meet with the article "Genealogical record of the tribe of the descendants of Li K'o-yung" by Wei Chu-hsien, who passed through the subprefecture of Ming Hua (San Ch'uan Valley) in October 1941. He visited Li Pao-ch'ing, a clan member of the old Li Nan-ko branch, who told him that during the Shun-chih period (1644–1661) a genealogical chronicle had been composed based on all available sources, by Yueh-Nai, secretary of the t'u-ssu for fifteen years, well read in the history of the clan, and that Yueh Nai was a contemporary of T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu.[67]

I copied the present part of the chronicle composed by Yueh Nai. The original name of the Shat'o tribe of Li K'o-yung was Chu-yeh. The Tang emperor granted him the name Li and the title of Prince of Chin (895). He saved the Tang dynasty during the rebellion of Huang Ch'ao. Li Ssu-kung moved into Hsi Hsia, Li Chi-feng followed the Sung dynasty, offering the four districts of Yin, Hsia, Suei, Ning.[68] From the Sung until the Yuan, during generations, they lived in Hsi Hsia and were renowned for their military presentations. At the time of the Yuan, Li Shang-ko was T'ung-chih tu-tu-chih (Vice-Chairman of the protectorate office) in Hsining. Then the Li clan divided into six sub-clans, each having its t'u-ssu. The most important among them was the Li Nan-ko clan. During the Ming, Li Nan-ko surrendered with the officials of Huangchung. Then follow the names of the descendants of Li Nan-ko who fulfilled successively the duty of t'u-ssu during the Ming. Finally a genealogical scheme is elaborated, starting with Li Shang-ko, succeeded by his son Li Mei-chi-lu, his grandson Li Kuan-chi-lu, who had two sons Li Nan-ko and Ch'a han Timur. The son of Li Nan-ko was Li Yin, the son of Ch'a Han Timur was Kuan Yin-pao. The son of Li Yin was Li Ch'ang, the son of Kuan Yin-pao was Li Wen. Further the names of the successors of Li

[67] The shift of the Ming dynasty to that of the Manchu was preceded by a period of troubles. The rebels in Huangchung looted the country of its wealth. T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu, still faithful to the Ming, tried to restore order in his territory. In 1644 his wife, concubine, two brothers, and three hundred of his subjects were killed. He himself was taken prisoner by rebels and sent to Sian to the Manchu court. He was accredited in his former duty of t'u-ssu and died as a faithful official of the Manchus (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 2*b*. *Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*b*).

[68] *Annals* of Kansu 46: 3*b*, happened in 982.

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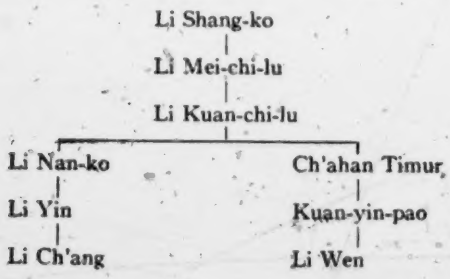
Ch'ang and Li Wen correspond with the names encountered in the lists of the *Annals* of Hsining and Kansu.



HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE DOCUMENTS

Both important documents manifest the confusion existing in the minds of the Li t'u-ssu and their subjects during and at the end of the Ming dynasty. Both Li clans claim (1) their first ancestor to have been Li K'o-yung, (2) who had received the name of Li, and (3) had been created prince of Chin by the Tang emperor. However, on the spirit way stele in the cemetery, erected in 1427, is chiseled that the original name of the Li K'o-yung clan was Topa, while the genealogical chronicle composed by Yueh Nai around 1644 records that the original name of the Shat'o tribe of Li K'o-yung was Chu-hsieh.

The Topa tribe was the leading tribe among one of the two Tibetan Tang-hsiang groups which had fled to Kansu in 627 from Sung P'an-ting (northwest Szechwan), for fear of invading T'u-fan. This group, called P'ing-hsia-p'u, was settled by the Tang emperor in the region of the present Mi Chih Hsien (northwest of Shensi). The group, during the troubles which beset the Tang empire, had founded its own Hsi Hsia kingdom, and from 982 on waged war with the Sung empire.

In 808 Shat'o, belonging to the Chu-hsieh tribe of the western Turks, eluded the pursuit of Tibetans and fled from Kanchow through Huangchung and East Kansu to submit to China. They were settled in Ling Chou (Ninghsia), later in Yen Chou and still later eastward through Shansi. They were faithful warriors, who often saved the Tang dynasty. Later they founded their own ephemeral Shat'o dynasties (923–947), whose first emperor originated from the Chu-hsieh tribe.

Yueh Nai, author of the chronicle, writes that the Li clan originated from the Chu-hsieh tribe of the western Turks. He should have known that Li K'o-yung was a Shat'o Turk, that the Shat'o group differed from the Tibetan Hsi Hsia group, and was settled in its own country granted by the emperor, and had its own history. Nonetheless he makes them move into Hsi Hsia, he records two Hsi Hsia leaders, Li Sse-kung and Li Chi-feng, as being ancestors of the Turk Li Nan-ko, and records the offering of four Hsi Hsia districts to the Sung (982) as being an act of his Shat'o ancestor.

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its central avenue is also bordered with stone sheep and tigers in a sad state of decay (Monguors I: 71, note 57), and every year ceremonies are performed in it by the entire clan, in honor of the founding ancestor Li Wen, Earl of Kao Yang, and all the subsequent t'u-ssu of his clan. The Hsiang T'ang cemetery is definitely the cemetery of the Li Nan-ko clan.

In the Hsiang T'ang cemetery is seen a mound, said to be that of Li Nan-ko, who died in 1407. However, a striking puzzle is the fact that his son, the celebrated Li Yin, Earl of Huei Ning, who died soon after 1437, is buried not in Hsiang T'ang cemetery, but in the forlorn village of Hai Shi Wan, southeast of Nienpei, where a small stele with an inscription is erected, and next to his tomb is the tomb of his son Li Ch'ang, who received promotions in 1475 and the glorifying attention from the emperor at the time of his death in 1493. Still more puzzling is the fact that Li Kung, the eminent great-grandson of Li Nan-ko, the son of Li Ch'ang, who obtained the literary degree of Chin-shih in 1481 and was later promoted minister of the Shang Pao Sse, is buried in the village of Pa-chu-yuan situated southeast of Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 17*a*; 27: 10–11; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*, 47*a*).

The fact that these three most eminent t'u-ssu of the clan were not buried in the ancestral cemetery where two spirit way steles were erected seems to suggest that the present elaborate cemetery might have been built in later times.

No notes are available relating to the ancestors of the other chiefs of the Monguor clans.

HISTORY OF HUANGCHUNG AND THE T'U-SSU DURING THE MING DYNASTY (1368–1644)

This chapter reveals on the one hand the tremendous role played by the Huangchung Monguors in the struggle waged by the Ming dynasty against the Mongols during the nearly three centuries of its existence, which several times shook the foundations of the empire. The help they rendered to the dynasty is unprecedented in history.

On the other hand, the chapter reveals the weakness of the Ming administration in Huangchung and the ordeal the loyal and dependent Monguors had to undergo to remain faithful to it amidst the wicked and ruthless depredations against their country, disastrous forays of brigands, hunger, disease, and poverty.

T'u-ssu Li Nan-ko, after his surrender with the officials of Hsining in a group in 1371 and his summons to court, was ordered to return to Hsining and to assume the administration of Huangchung. He controlled the country, calling on more tribes to surrender; repaired roads and bridges; organized the system of relays and the communications with the central administration; amassed grain in the public graneries, etc. The same year he defeated and took prisoner a rebel-

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ling chieftain, Ho Chang-tsa (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 9–10).

The commandery of Hsining was created in 1372 (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*). This means that Chinese officials arrived accompanied by some troops to organize the country along the Chinese pattern and to enlist the t'u-ssu in their service.

The Ch'i t'u-ssu, Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i, who had surrendered in 1368, was sent in 1372 to the country of the salt lake in Kokonor, where the tribal chief I-lin-chen-pen had revolted. He defeated the turbulent chief and pacified and controlled the country. He induced the Mongol chief Ch'i-chih-sun to surrender (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 12*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 35*a*).

The heir apparent of the Yuan, Ai-ya-shih-li-ta-la, escaping from Ying Ch'ang in 1370, had arrived at Karakorum and been proclaimed emperor. During 1371 he mustered all available troops in order to recover his lost empire. In 1372 the Ming emperor, informed about the military preparations of the Mongols, dispatched three armies, with the order to deal a decisive blow to the Mongol forces in the very heart of their domain. Troops of three t'u-ssu from Huangchung joined the second army commanded by General Feng Sheng: the troops of the Lu t'u-ssu from Lien Ch'eng, and of the T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh and the T'u-ssu Wang Nam-mu-ko, both from Hsining. This army administered a crushing defeat in Liangchow to the forces of the Mongol commander Shih-la-han, and in Yung Ch'ang in Ma Hu Shan, to those of T'o-erh-chih-pa, who had revolted after his surrender and from whom 300 soldiers and 400 horses were captured. Then the troops delivered a severe defeat to the Mongol commander Pu-hua and captured 8,000 families. They went to I-chi-nai-lu (in the Gobi) where they defeated the Mongol Prince Pao Tsang and pursued fleeing Mongols until Kua and Sha Chou. The t'u-ssu troops returned to Huangchung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*b*–44*b*; Ming Shih, Biography Fu Yu-te 129: 8; Pokotilov, 7–8).[70]

The expedition of General Feng Sheng in 1372, with his enlisted t'u-ssu troops, was the first attempt by the Ming to conquer the region of the corridor stretching from Liang and Kan Chou to Turkistan. The corridor, bordered on the north by the Gobi desert, the homeland of the nomads, was exposed to recurrent invasions of Mongols from the desert waste, and during three centuries the t'u-ssu of Huangchung would be ordered to repel their forays.

In 1373 the Mongol Prince Pu-yen-pu-hua, endowed with the title of Prince of Ning by the Mongol emperors, had been appointed by them administrator of the region of An-ting (Turkistan). In 1370 he had re-

[70] D. Pokotilov, *The history of the Eastern Mongols during the Ming from 1368–1634*, translated from the Russian by Rudolf Loewenthal, Chengtu, China, West China University, 1947.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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Chuang-lang, Ch'ing-yang, and East Kansu. The raids furnished to the invaders a considerable amount of loot and fostered their predatory instincts. The example set by the Mongols whetted the appetite for plunder among the Tibetan tribes also. The people lived in desperate conditions, and the t'u-ssu troops had always to be ready to comply with the orders of military commanders.

This note, recorded in the Lu chronicles, is quite acceptable for the reason that during just these years a tremendous confusion reigned in Mongolia, and the Mongol tribes located along the Kanchow and Liang-chow borders had nobody to care for them, for the Oirats, now at the summit of their power, had thought themselves strong enough to challenge the Chinese empire.

HEIGHT OF OIRAT HEGEMONY

To Esen, the powerful Oirat chief, had been promised an imperial princess by the eunuch Wang Chen, the favorite of the emperor. He had not notified the emperor of this promise and when the envoys of Esen arrived at court with the nuptial presents they were refused. In the autumn of 1449 the humiliated Esen began raids on the empire frontiers and approached Ta-t'ung. An army of half a million men was raised in a hurry, and sent against the Oirats. The emperor accompanied the army. His troops were routed, the emperor was taken prisoner, the remnants of the army tumbled back to Peking, and the capital was in jeopardy. Ching Ti, the brother of Emperor Ying Tsung, ascended the throne in 1450. The Oirats were unable to seize the capital. After endless deliberations, the released imperial prisoner reentered Peking in the eighth moon, after an absence of one year.

Esen, swollen with pride after his resounding victory over the empire, his ambition soaring to the throne, proclaimed himself emperor of the Mongols in 1454; but two of his commanders revolted against him in 1455; he fled and was killed the same year. For the time being the balance of political power of the Oirats shifted to the eastern Mongols who struggled again for the hegemony. One of the commanders who had killed Esen was killed by Polai, a tribal chieftain of the Ta-tan Mongols. Po-lai enthroned a new Khan, Markorgis, the son of T'o-to-pu-hua, known under the name of Hsiao-wang-tsu, the little king, and began with raids on the frontiers of the empire.[80]

In 1457 Emperor Ching Ti fell ill, the secluded Yin Tsung ascended the throne for the second time and thereafter his brother died.

T'U-SSU LI WEN

The same year T'u-ssu Li Wen arrived at Peking from Hsining with his army, to congratulate Yin Tsung

[80] H. Serruys, *op. cit.*, 85; Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 58-60.

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cessantly he exercised devotedness and zeal." Lu Fu, the second son of Lu Chieh, had accompanied his father on the expeditions and had been named by the emperor "secretary commandant" of the city of Chuang Lang in 1519. The son of Lu Fu, Nen, died on the battlefield fighting Tibetans. His grandson was made "assistant commandant." His great-grandson died with the rank of second captain of the garrison of Hung Ch'eng. The group of the descendants of Lu Fu was one of the most prominent defenders of the Ming dynasty.

In 1648 the Mohammedan Milayin revolted in Kanchow. Lu P'ei-tso with his own army accompanied Lu Tien and other t'u-ssu to quell the revolt and recover the cities of Kanchow and Liangchow. He was given the original title of the family, that of "Assistant Commandant."

His descendants fought in 1723–1724 in Huangchung against the rebel Mongols of Kokonor. In 1781 they fought the Salar revolt and in 1784 the Yen Ch'a revolt of the Mohammedans.

During the whole Ch'ing dynasty the descendants of Lu P'ei-tso, in concert with Manchu and t'u-ssu troops of Huangchung and troops of seceders of the T'o Huan clan, quelled revolts and defended the country. Each in succession received the hereditary title of "Assistant Commandant" and an annual salary of 53.4 taels. The Lu P'ei-tso group lived in the country of Hsi Tat'ung and controlled the valleys of Ma Chuang and Yang Fang. It did not control subjects and had no regular soldiers but in time of war its chiefs called on the descendants of the Lu Fu group. It did not have to pay taxes to the Chinese government.[13]

SOCIAL STATUS OF CHIEFS OF GROUPS OF SECEDERS FROM THE CLAN

T'u-ssu are possessors of territories and subjects allotted to them by the emperor, and as beneficiaries of territories, and also the appointed defenders of them have the right to make legal claims against illegal appropriators of their territories. Since subjects are allocated to the t'u-ssu to provide them with defenders of their territories, each t'u-ssu is listed as having a fixed number of regular soldiers. A soldier is not allowed to abandon his chief, a Monguor is not allowed to abandon the t'u-ssu, and it is because the t'u-ssu has to equip his own troops that he is exempt from paying taxes.

By the same reasoning, one who, with his followers, secedes from his t'u-ssu is not legally entitled to either territory or subjects, and ought to be liable to prosecution. Even if he is not prosecuted, he and his group are not exempt from the payment of taxes, because he does not hold a recognized territory, with its attached duties and costs of defense.

[13] *Annals* of Kansu 42: 60a–b.

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The emperor himself appoints t'u-ssu and grants their seals and diploma. No officials, even governors, are allowed to appoint t'u-ssu. As an exception, when a new clan splits off from a large clan, a part of the territories and subjects of the clan are granted to the new t'u-ssu by the "old t'u-ssu and the clan chiefs," but in such cases accreditation by the emperor must follow. These facts in the Li and Lu clan have been previously noted. Also every time a new t'u-ssu succeeds to an old one his office must be confirmed by the emperor, with seal and diploma.

It is clear then that the status of a chief of a group of seceders from a Monguor clan is that of a military official, obeying the orders of a Chinese military official, who unlawfully enlisted him and granted him the titles and promotions granted to Chinese officials in the Chinese army; it is not the status of a t'u-ssu. Such a seceding chief and his followers, continuing to live in the territories of the clan, among the loyal subjects of the t'u-ssu, are legally still subject to him, although they have ceased to recognize his authority.

How is it possible for two groups of people to live peacefully together on the territory of a chief, whose authority one of them refuses to recognize? How is it possible to have Chinese officials who do not defend the rights of their subjects to secede from the clan? This paradox was realized in 1645, when the seceders of the T'o Huan clan led by T'u-ssu Lu Tien surrendered to Governor Meng Ch'iao-fang, and had their situation "regularized" by the Governor. A look at the chronicles of the Lu clan helps to clarify this confusing problem.[14]

SECEDERS FROM THE LU CLAN IN 1645

In 1645 Prince Yin of the Ch'ing dynasty arrived to call the people of the two rivers to surrender. He himself, a Manchu, well conversant with the mentality and the social institutions of the Mongols and nomadic peoples, and familiar with conditions in the Lu clan, was so shocked by the disorganization and hatred among the eminent families of the clan, that he ordered the noble Lady Yang, concubine of the killed T'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang, in Lien Ch'eng, to write to the emperor a detailed report with "her blood," concerning the disaster of Lien Ch'eng. The report reads: "The subjects of our clan have been divided among traitors, belonging to eminent families of our tribes, our clan properties have been seized and the hereditary lordship over our tribes usurped." [15]

This report is an eye-opener concerning the events of 1644, the confusion existing in the clan and the hatred among the subjects. Reading the report the first impression is that the Lu P'ei-tso group must be rated among the "traitors belonging to the most eminent families of our tribes" and that the territories

[14] See pp. 89, 101.
[15] See p. 89.

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with the same foe; and again in 1872, at the time of the revolt of the Mohammedans, when the clan built a floating bridge topass the Tatung River, for the army had to reach Hsining and was blocked at Lien Ch'eng. 175*

The conclusion seems to be that a sword of Damocles swayed above the can for as long a time as the seceders were alive and assuming an attitude of menacing hostility every time ai opportunity would occur.

CONCLUSION

The study ends with the biographies of the ancestors of the most prominent among the clans, the Lu clan, which shed light on the family life of the t'u-ssu and the process of Sinicization in the center of the family. 175* 622 ● 565

This section of the Biographies shows the mentality of the chiefs of the clans and their entire families. All the chiefs of the Monguor clans at the beginning of the Ming dynasty were uncouth barbarians, admiring the Chinese civilization, feeling themselves humiliated in the presence of the Chinese. Hence the eagerness in the families of the chiefs of all the clans to learn the Chinese language, to adopt Chinese customs, to have in the family members honored with literary degrees, to see their chiefs dignified with Chinese military titles and promotions. The Chinese knew very well these dispositions and fostered them, granting military titles one after another, even bestowing upon some among them, the title of Duke of Hui Ning and Duke of Kao Yang. 156 177

The chiefs of the clans married girls of prominent Chinese officials, and married their girls to important Chinese officials and prominent Chinese families. After a couple of generations the mentality and customs in the family had completely changed. Dinners had become Chinese dinners, clothing Chinese clothing, jewelry Chinese jewelry, furniture in the houses Chinese furniture, and the walls were adorned with Chinese inscriptions and paintings. A hall to the ancestors had been built in the mansion of the chief of the clan where sacrifices were offered according to the Chinese pattern, and rich Monguors liked to display luxury in the Chinese fashion. The introduction of Chinese women into the families of the chiefs of the clan had changed entirely the mind of the family and stimulated its Sinicization. But in China the corners are never wholly square. These Sinicized Monguors profess a Confucianism that allows them to practice, even fervently, lamaism and shamanism, that allows them to burn down and rebuild monasteries, to be proprietors of monasteries and to have sons who become lamas and even Living Buddhas. 175* 177 [582]

The family chronicles of the Lu clan are a great help for the comprehension of the social life of the Monguor clans and also of the attitude of the Chinese administration, related to the policy adopted toward the Mongol and Tibetan brigands on the frontiers. 714

[114(B)]

N 563 M 614 622 178 179 on, when the Monguors gave up the nomadic way of life and became sedentary, the connection with the Chinese became closer and closer and closer until the Monguors finally came under Chinese rule. As the best means of maintaining control over the "frontier barbarians" the Chinese permitted them a certain amount of local self-government; at this time the clan chieftain became a Chinese official, a so-called T'u-ssu or "local chief."

The Monguors were no exception to the rule that all minorities, militarily powerless in comparison with the ruling Chinese, succumbed to the new culture, which, in the minds of the minorities, had always been superior and therefore worthy of imitation. As soon as the minorities were militarily defeated or went into submission voluntarily and deliberately, their chieftains proudly received the insignia and title of a M [171] Chinese office. This is true of the Khans of the Mongols, the Bäks of the Turks, the rgyal-pos of the Tibetans.

While the Turkic chieftains received the title of Shang-lao (Bäk), the Mongolian tribal leaders became Wangs, and the Monguor clan chieftains received the title of T'u-ssu. This institution was installed by the Chinese to administer minority tribes at the western frontier of the Chinese Empire. The N 563 175 T'ang annals already report that the Chinese Emperor made hereditary chieftains of frontier territories heads of the Chi-mi-chou, (the predecessor of the T'u-ssu institution). The Yüan M 175 179 dynasty already called this office by its present name - T'u-ssu. The Ming dynasty continued to confer this title on Mongol 614 622 clan chieftains whose clans were by this time mixed with Tibetans, Turks, and Chinese. The Manchu dynasty, (who favored minorities for obvious reasons: (1) the Manchus themselves constituted a minority and (2) maintenance of political equilibrium and balance of power in regard to minorities and indigenous Chinese) extended this system in a way that the various clans gained a limited measure of self-determination and autonomy. However, the ties to the Imperial court and its administrative institutions were, and remained close. Finally, the office of the T'u-ssu remained under the same name during the Republican period of China. In other frontier areas, e.g. in Sinkiang, the names of these offices were different, but they differed only slightly functionally. Father Schram describes the institution as follows: "...the T'u-ssu system may be described as a method of allowing marginal non-Chinese peoples attached to, but not yet absorbed into, the body of Chinese society, to continue to live according to their own customs, but under a form of administration adapted to, and forming an extension of, that ofChina as a whole. Hence the dual function of the T'u-ssu as "native Chief" and as Chinese official."

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 614 565 554 [466] into another lord's service. If they attempted to do so, the punishment was death. After the great rebellion of the Moslems (1862-1878), however, the military power of the Monguor gradually declined. No T'u-ssu after this time really wielded any true power.

The principle of corvee, to which the Monguor were still liable, is founded on the vassalage which previously bound the nomads to the "service" of the chief. Although they neither tilled the soil nor paid taxes, nonetheless they were real vassals.

N *563 M 614 317 565 The register of all noble families is kept at the seat of the T'u-ssu. Even the daughters, and the families into which they marry, are noted. A noble is also entered in the book of genealogies. However, the names of unmarried sons are not inscribed, because they presumably have not produced sons for the clan.

N *563 M 174 565 M [554] When the Monguor first settled in their frontier territory and began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, there was probably considerable social distance between the commoners and the nobles. With settled life and the increasing dominance of agriculture, noble families, like commoner families, became increasingly dependent on their ability to manage their own farms. Local prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability, and class became secondary.

N *563 M 621 622 565 The Monguor village consists of a group of families living in a well-defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the village chief. All villagers till the soil, and the population is large or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the pastures. Nobles and commoners live in the same kind of house, and they gain their livelihood in the same manner. Therefore, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated.

N *563 M 596 [421] [561] [595] Until 1922 the extended Monguor family was a patrilineal, patrilocal family under the authority of the grandfather, or the great-grandfather if he survived. No family usually exceeded four generation. Property and wealth were owned collectively, but authority over the property was unequally concentrated in the senior generation. Polygamy in Monguor society is decidedly an economic question, since polygamy does not go well with residence in a common courtyard. The breakup of an extended family is visibly symbolized when one of the nuclear families sets up its own kitchen. The position of

M [428] chief or head of the family normally passes by primogeniture to the eldest son of the first wife of the previous head. In every family, rich or poor, noble or commoner, the head of the family is also the religious chief, the family administrator, and the family representative in dealing with higher authorities outside the family. In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property. The breakdown of the extended family usually

M [182] [768] [428] takes place when the grandfather dies. It is very seldom that his surviving sons remain united under the authority of the eldest son. More commonly, the sons divide the property and "build their own kitchens.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1
Kazak RQ2
Monguor AE9

/The Kazakhs/

S 563 4. Work and leisure

The division of labor between men and women is like that of the New Uighurs. Also like the New Uighurs, they love to sing and dance and otherwise enjoy themselves. Because of their hard life, their songs carry a meloncholy quality, and their dance is simple.

[191] It has been mentioned that the people are noted for their expert horsemanship. Most of their games are played on horseback. There are three which may be played by all ages. One, similar to the baigi of the Kirghiz, is called "Run for the Sheep." Men on horseback chase a sheep, attempting to drive it along a designated course to a finish line. With perhaps a hundred horsemen participating, this game may become quite chaotic.

In the "Pick up Race," the riders hold themselves on their horses with only their legs, and bend down from the saddle at full gallop to pick up silver coins from the ground. The one who picks up the most coins and stays on his horse's back longest is the winner.

The third game, "Girl Chase," is commonly played by the youngsters. The crowd selects a boy and a girl, who ride off together to a designated starting point. On the way, the boy is permitted to say anything he wishes to the girl, and she, no matter how provoked or embarrassed, must tolerate it for the time being. When the referee gives them the signal to return, the boy rides hard with the girl in pursuit. If she catches him, she may punish him for his comments by hitting him with her riding whip. This game serves love-making purposes besides developing riding ability.

N *563 F. The Mongours

M 131 361 311 1. The people

The Mongours settled largely, and still live, on the north bank of the Yellow River. The country is adapted primarily to cattle breeding, but most of the plains and the largest of the valleys have been opened to cultivation. The people were formerly ruled by chiefs, and the clans scattered between two major tributaries, the Hsi-ning and the Ta-t'ung, of the Yellow River. (The word clan is used here to designate a group of people who have a common surname, are ruled by a common chief and share a common territory.) The Mongour clans trace their presence in the Hsi-ning district as far back as the Yüan Dynasty (1260-1368). In the Ming Dynasty, a fixed territory was assigned to the chief of each clan, and from then on they enjoyed a peculiar kind of local autonomy under their own clan chiefs.

N *563 M 144 174 The origin of the Mongours has been a puzzle to researchers. One idea is that they are a mixture of the Aryans and Mongols; another, that they are Chinese and Tangut. Some Chinese con-